THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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AN OPTIMIST.

By Lulu W. Mitchell.

Shall I, by Life's close commonplaces hedged,
Misrate the casual sunbeam, or, austere,
Regard the wild flower pale, chance-rooted here,
Scorning the song-bird this dull thicket fledged?
Nay! Heart's-ease, Fortune, I have never pledged,
A hostage for thy favour all too dear.
Ah, Heaven's light downshineth strangely near,
When outward view hath long been casement-edged.
Though grim mischance with evil hour conspire,
The balanced soul they shall not oversway,
Nor circumstance abash, nor failure bar.
They vex me not, the lamps of old desire,
Unlighted in the bare room of To-day.
Somewhere the morning waits! Meanwhile—a star.

Great Thoughts.

As a rope that is burnt retains its form intact, but, being all ash, nothing can be bound with it, so the man who is emancipated retains merely the form of his egoism, but no idea of Self (Ahamkara).

ॐ

As the blacksmith keeps alive the fire of his furnace by the occasional blowing of his bellows, so the mind should be kept burning by the society of the pious.

ॐ

Remain always strong and steadfast in thy own faith, but eschew all bigotry and intolerance.

ॐ

You cannot live in a sooty room without blackening your body to some extent, however small it may be, with all your caution. So if a man or woman lives in the company of one of the opposite sex of the same age with the greatest circumspection and control over his or her passion, still some carnality, however small is sure to arise in his or her mind.

ॐ

Keep thine own sentiments and faith to thyself. Do not talk about them abroad. Otherwise thou wilt be a great loser.

ॐ

Boil your sugar well in a living and active fire. As long as there is earth and impurity in it, the sweet infusion will smoke and simmer. But when all impurity is cast out, there is neither smoke nor sound, but the delicious crystalline fluid heaves itself in its unmixed worth, and whether liquid or solid is the delight of men and gods. Such is the character of the man of faith.

ॐ

The flint may remain for myriads of years under water, still it does not lose its inner fire. Strike it with steel whenever you like, and out flashes the glowing spark. So is the true devotee firm in his faith. Though he may remain surrounded by all the impurities of the world, he never loses his faith and love. He becomes entranced as soon as he hears the name of the Almighty.

ॐ

A jar kept in water is full of water inside and outside. Thus the soul immersed in God sees the all-pervading Spirit within and without.

ॐ

Men are quick to praise and quick to blame, so do not take to heart what others say of thee.

Events of the Week.

The capitulation of Mr. Lloyd George to the Die-hards who are out to wreck the Indian Reforms will not surprise any one who has ever watched the permutations of the Right Honourable Gentleman's opinions. While Indian publicists who belong to no party are not disposed to attach much importance to statements of bravado and braggadacio about the most determined race in the world and all that nonsense that comes to the sword-rattling Imperialist, it is to be hoped that gentlemen of the moderate school, who style themselves Liberals, will take note of the speech with all its far-reaching implications. The present ministers responsible for India made it clear, as soon as they assumed office, they had not the slightest intention of giving in to the demand of the Assembly—which by the way they and others are never tired of patting on the back—that the reforms ought to be speeded up. It is well if our moderate friends will understand what an implacable enemy the Parliament of England is likely to prove itself to be to our attaining our goal. Its past history in its dealings with its colonies ought to be sufficiently interesting here. The reader has only to look at the malignant spite that questioned the appointment of Harkishen Lal as Minister in the Punjaub. Though the speaker on the official Liberal side to a great extent glossed over the rudeness in portions of Mr. George's speeches, it is worthy of notice that he tacitly accepted the Premier's characterisation of the Reforms now in being—and by which our wise friends swear—as an experiment.

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However much Anglo-Indians may seek palliatives or sugar a bitter pill for their moderate henchmen, the Premier's references to the I.C.S., their indispensable character etc., will disillusion them, if ever thy contrast this solicitude for the costliest service in the world in the poorest of countries with the way in which Indian interests all over the world are being woefully let down. Well may the ordinary man in the street say in disgust, tear up the Reforms Act and let us get back to the iron hand without the velvet glove on. The foolish threat held out to the Non-co-operators does not concern us here. It is worthy of a third-rate hack in Fleet Street. It is the duty of statesmen to probe into the malady and not fling idle threats about, especially when politicians of all shades are getting disgusted with Dyarchy in practice. No responsible Indian can ever be so untrue to himself as not to see that, while the N. C. O. movement has worked harm in many ways, yet it has not come a day too soon. It is the result of despair rooted in the racial mind and if the movement is collapsing as Mr. Lloyd George from thousands of miles away assures us, this speech will give it life enough for a generation. The nakedness has never been surpassed where we are shown that the glorious language about the fulfilment of a trust etc., is only a camouflage for the seeking of a selfish interest. The doubting Thomases have only to look across the waters where they please—Canada, Africa, East or South, or Australia or New Zealand.

***

While we shall not allow the Non-co-operator to be lightly maligned, we must tell the rulers that they are mistaken indeed if they think that any body of responsible Indians—including the hated N. C. Os—are out to speed the British out of the country, as the *Pioneer* in the height of its wisdom writes. But it is not the same thing as saying—as the Premier says:—

"We cannot keep a continuous eye upon what happens in India, and that is right. You cannot do it. It depends upon the kind of Government that you have there. It is essential that that should be strengthened, but whatever you do in the way of strengthening it, there is one institution we will not interfere with, there is one institution we will not cripple, there is one institution we will not deprive of its functions, or of its privileges, and that is that institution which built up the British Raj—the British Civil Service in India."

***

Take this again:—"We have undertaken responsibility for India, we have undertaken to guide India, we have undertaken to establish and maintain law and good government throughout its vast dominions, we have undertaken to defend its frontiers, and to protect its peoples against internal foes and external foes. The British Empire means at all costs to continue to discharge that sacred trust and to fulfil that high destiny."

***

It is this assumption of superiority, this facile arrogance that a particular race has been made God's policeman in a distracted universe that rubs the awakened nationalism of India the wrong way. No amount of rattling the sabre will quench the rising flame of discontent; and responsible statesmen in India or in England do not see the folly of acting as the recruiting seargent of the Indian Non-co-operator. We who abhor violent changes in the political or social sphere can only look with dismay on this latest exhibition of Die-hard intolerance, by pampering the already much pampered services. That the increasing admission of Indians in a service which belongs to that country should in some occult way be looked on as portending danger to that country—this is a startling commentary on all the sermons about Britain's trust towards India. That mentality has wrought ruin and havoc in Ireland for more than six hundred years; it had lost the American colonies; it precipitated the Boer War. And in an Empire where the Indian has only duties and no rights—spite of the wise Mr. Sastri—to indulge in such foolish utterance is to convert the land into a camp of non-co-operators by conviction.

***

We have heard it stated that the Army Head Quarters have got a scheme ready for the complete Indianisation of the Army in twenty years. If it be so, here is opportunity for the Government to confirm or contradict it: for we see Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer will ask at the forthcoming session of the Assembly that the scheme, if any, be laid on the table for the Indianisation of the Army, and the correspondence, if any, that has passed on the subject between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the subject. The same member, we note, will ask a question as to the future policy in Waziristan. This is a rather ticklish subject, though at present clouded in much obscurity; and we trust opportunity will be taken to go into a detailed examination of the problem.

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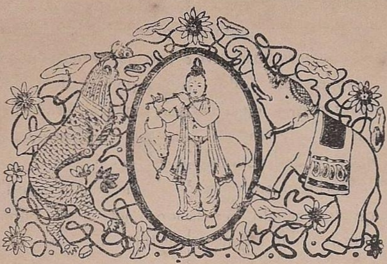
"Publish and be damned" said Mr. Lloyd George in effect in reply to General Maurice's threat to make certain documents public about the doings of the Fifth Army. It appears the "Westminister Gazette" is going to publish them. Whether the General will meet with the delightful fate to which Mr. George so compendiously and with such taste has condemned him cannot be discovered, to Mr. George's mortification, in this life at any rate. Meantime an Anglo-Indian contemporary is much exercised in mind as to whither all this violent language tends. "Are the custodians of our ancient heritage," it anxiously asks, "as watchful as they should be? Are they inspired with a correct regard for the etiquette of the past?" It traces the steady decay of Parliamentary dignity, beginning with Disraelie and his flowered waistcoat, Keir Hardie in a tweed suit, Mr. Pringle in a pink tie and last abomination of all, Mr. Jack Jones hurling his robust interjections across the floor of the House. Mr. Belloc boasts that he was the last man to quote Greek in Westminister. The other day the daily press referred to what a menagerie of wild animals the House converted itself when discussing the new bill on Trade Union funds. And now comes Mr. Lloyd George's lusty, full-mouthed rejoinder, that reminds one of the bull-ring rather than of Parliament. It seems to us however there is no need to despair of the most determined people as yet. For when one reflects on it, Mr. George did not say the words quoted. He compromised with his non-conformist conscience, and what he did say was: "As regards the threat to publish the correspondence, he would refer General Maurice to the short observation made in similar circumstances by the Duke of Wellington." The condemnatory expletive was the Iron Duke's and the vulgarity only Mr. George's.



The Hindu Message

Political Tactic—I.

The Civil Disobedience Committee, which has also been called the Congress Enquiry Committee, whose purposes as judged by its questionnaire is something in the nature of a grand inquisition into the progress the country has made along the path laid down by the Congress so as it may be in a position to attain Svarajya in the quickest period, has now for some time been in our midst and it seems pertinent therefore to take stock of the political situation in the country and the prevailing trend of political opinion. Though here and there evidence has leaked out and certain gentlemen have taken us into confidence by publishing their written evidence, we have no hesitation in characterising the decision of the Committee to conduct their proceedings *in camera* as a grave mistake. The issues involved are far-reaching and it is to the public interest that the country must have the means at hand of judging if all the factors have been given due weight, whatever decision the Committee might eventually come to. We have no desire to insinuate that the gentlemen who compose the Committee and who have taken upon themselves such perilous responsiblities are not alive to what is due to their fellow-countrymen from them. The utterances of some of them have now and then given room for anxiety as indicating that they have in some manner prejudged the question. In any case, the argument that we have alert opponents who might take advantage of the proceedings if conducted in public is not worth a moment's notice, betokening as it does a cowardly unreadiness to face the fire of hostile criticism or may be hostile ridicule. But the issues involved are too deep for any dialectical quibble. They relate to the vital question of the correct political tactics and it has been very freely admitted that they are immensely wide and affect the whole future of the country. The dicision therefore to conduct the proceedings *in camera* can only be deplored as an unfortunate one.

That apart the whole future and the very life of the non-co-operation movement now hang upon the decision to be arrived at by the present Committee. From time to time that programme has been the subject of sympathetic if sometimes caustic comment in these columns. We have nothing to add to it now. Of the four principal stages in the N. C. O. plan of campaign to paralyse the government and to bring it down on its knees, the last and revolutionary item of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes alone remains. The rest have vanished into space. The triple boycott has not been attended, even in the estimation of the friendliest critics, with any great success except that there is a general loss of prestige in those government institutions—a thing for which the N. C. O. may claim as good a share of the credit as any one else. The boycott of schools has been admittedly a Himalayan blunder. The courageous Pandit Nehru has in his speech to the Madras students weakened, as we see, considerably from unbending N. C. O. orthodoxy in regard to this item. The Councils have not been empty, while their pseudo-representative character has considerably added to the difficulties of an already embittered situation. The *Servant* has unfortunately exhibited a curious and unhealthy suspicion about its own adherents maintaining political orthodoxy once within the Councils. This kind of prejudice against and suspicion of the political man is but an incident of the strenuous times we are passing through. As for the boycott of law-courts, it has not met with any greater success. On the other hand it has victimised many noble workers who could be ill-spared. It, in some degree, is responsible for the prevailing inertia and inactivity in certain Congress Districts.

And now the new programme has been authoritatively described as khaddar, removal of untouchability and promotion of Hindu-Moslem unity. As for the second, our opinion is well-known and there is no necessity to re-state it. Passing over our objections thereto, we agree with those critics who state that here is a woefully inadequate appreciation of the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. It is, as we have so often said, mainly a secular struggle in the first place and as an immediate means, these means, cannot inspire and have not inspired any very high endeavours. That this programme, as it has been interpreted, will be needed quite as much in a self-governing or autonomous India is the measure of its failure in India as she is now. Men want to-day

a more inspiring and fighting programme. It is all very well to say that we want a reform of the spirit and that such reform will bring about or create the necessary material force. But in this hard-driving material earth of ours, we cannot run away from the conditions surrounding us. This view, in its many variations, has found recently much forcible expression. There is also an under-current of resentment and suspicion that this purifying programme is being used by certain individuals, quite honourable we are sure, to feather their own nest, to seek popular applause by the exhibition of an oversanctimonious political orthodoxy. A Madras witness referred to this uglier aspect of Congress politics, if we may believe what has fizzled out through the *Daily Express*. We are sure the astute and far-sighted gentlemen who compose the Enquiry Committee will not fail to take note of these things.

Therefore what emerges is the programme of full-fledged civil disobedience. And if that too were found to be impracticable or even difficult of being launched in a reasonable period of time, it is obvious that non-co-operation as a political weapon has not a leg to stand upon. The individuals who swear by N. C. O. who have the same unalterable and unshakable faith in its efficacy for all our ills as the illustrious man who launched it, can be counted on one's fingers and so, in any discussion of that item of non-co-operation strategy, that group may conveniently be left out of calculation. To those who believe that, even if not immediately practicable, civil disobedience does not cease to be a weapon of non-co-operation, it is enough to state that such sentiments, where there is an obvious shrinking to put into practice due consideration being paid to the ripeness of the mass therefor, is not worth the paper on which it is written. The strength of the cult of N. C. O. lies in the belief sedulously inculcated even by leaders who ought to have known better that it will lead us to Svaraj quicker than by any other route, and if that belief were to vanish, as would certainly be the case if civil disobedience be further and indefinitely postponed, a great deal of the meretricious and unthinking support it now claims will also vanish. The feminine argument that it is the fault of the country if it has not the requisite energy, persistence, will, courage or *sadhana* to carry out the programme devised is too peurile to be noticed by us here. By just so much as they fail to take due and careful note of the capacity of the people do leaders fall short of their duties and responsibilities. The question of civil disobedience, therefore, goes to the very root of the question and is incidentally also a challenge to the stasesmanly wisdom and prudence of the leaders of the Congress Executive: and the whole future of non-co-operation as also Indian politics depends on its acceptance or rejection as a practical proposition. This is the only way in which the question ought to be viewed: and doubtless it is so viewed by the vast majority of our people. Hence our desire that the question should be decided not in an offhand and irresponsible manner, but that the most earnest thought should be bestowed upon it and the public allowed to know in full the grounds on which any decision may be arrived at by the Congress Committee. The readar will now see why we began by regretting the arbitrary manner in which they have decided to conduct their proceedings away from the fierce light of publicity.

Dharma and Life—X.

That, in the search for expert assistance in the guidance and control of the State, the thinkers of the West and all responsible statseman and chiefs are thinking of the need for some practical scheme of distribution and classification of its inhabitants is clear not only from writers like Steiner already referred to, but also from the schemes of reform put forth from time to time for securing an improved class of men as members of the various houses or branches of the legislature and executive. Even the Socialists who are stated to support the dogma of the equality of men under their schemes of Democracy require one set of men for dealing wtih social and political questions and another for dealing with matters relating to the production of commodities and the rendering of industrial or commercial services, by means of education and the organisation of trade and exchange. Even American thinkers and writers, in spite of the fact that they claim to be the most advanced of all democracies, hold that no purely popular election can secure the best men for the guidance of public affairs. Mr. Powers, the author of a recent work on "The American Era" has avowed that "no popularly elective body can ever be a body of experts" such as are needed at the present day. Hence, all are agreed that one branch at least of the legislature must be made to include some of the best representatives available from each of the great departments of human life and thought in order to form a competent advising body, In England, the reform of the House of Lords is now advanced to the point that Government itself have come forward

with proposals for a reconstituted assembly in which only Royalties, and Spiritual and Law Peers will have a permanent, and all other categories of peers will have only a limited, tenure. The latter section will consist of the Crown nominees, hereditary peers elected by their order, elected representatives from outside who occupy eminent positions in literature, science, industry, trade, art, religion, &c.

It will be evident how complicated and artificial are all such schemes, and how soon they will become unsuitable in the societies of the West which rapidly change in consonance with the growing struggle for existence and the exigencies of progress among men resolved to monopolise the resources of the globe and to contend for the supreme position of power among all communities. In India, on the other hand, we have in our Varnas social divisions which are of such immemorial antiquity that it is impossible to claim that they either go back to those prehistoric ages when man was not yet differentiated from other species or to those in which he fashioned his own social institutions in accordance with the needs and exigencies of the moment. It is in fact, altogether impossible to ascribe our Varna classification in Hindu society to any purely secular motives capable of serving as the efficient cause for such an effect. M. Barth speaks of caste as "a question which I have purposely evaded as being hitherto unsusceptibe of a satisfactory solution." He says further:—"I did not entangle myself in this question, because of its exceeding obscurity. In fact, we have already a Brahmanical theory of caste, in regard to which we should require to know how far it is true to facts before we venture on explanations which might very readily prove of no greater validity than a work of romance." Others—and especially *Modernised Indians*, including some Brahmins but mostly "non-Brahmins," so-called—feel no such scruples of conscience, and are prepared to prove not only that "the Brahmanical theory of caste" is *not* "true to fact," but that that theory is a *late* invention of the devil of self-interest and self-aggrandisement. M. Barth, however, is convinced that "they (the Brahmans) never formed a body governed by common interests." Now-a-days partisanship is *avowedly* the basis of all social and political activity, and so the numerous enemies of the Indian system of Varna-divisions and of the Brahmans of to-day will not be disposed to grant the truth of M. Barth's observation regarding the Brahmans. The fact, however, is that Brahmans in the past were indented upon, like their successors of to-day, to be the teachers and expounders of Buddhism and other so-called "Protestant" religions which attempted to overthrow the religion which they professed themselves and of which they were the specially appointed "guardians." M. Barth says of Buddhism that "for a long while, they (the Brahmans) furnished the new religion with its chief teachers." The same is mostly true of the various other Agamic creeds and "Protestant" religions which rose later on in India. If our social division of Varnas, therefore, have remained and still possess much, though diminished and diminishing, vitality, it is due to the fact that these divisions are not the artificial products of the working of complicated human motives of greed, self-assertion and exploitation of the weak by the strong, but have an immemorial origin and source for which we can only seek in the Vedas and the ancient Vedic literature. Professors Macdonnell and Keith say in their recent work, "The Vedic Index":—"It seems certain that in the Rig-Veda, this Brahmana or Brahmin is already a separate caste differing from the warrior and agricultural classes." The French scholar, De La Saussayae, even goes further:—"More especially among the Persians the same four Hindu castes are mentioned. From this we can naturally see that "*this division cannot be the product of any specially Hindu development, but existed already in the oldest—at least Indo-Persian—times.*" If the Indian system of Varnas existed in the "*oldest times*," we must ultimately trace it to the time of creation. Thus both modern secular science and the ancient Indian spiritual science of the Veda agree in holding that our system of Varnas is *not* an artificial product of any known or knowable human motives or social influences which can be traced to any individual or coterie interested in bringing it into existence. It still retains some of its ancient vitality, because there is something in it which adapts itself to the constitution of human nature and enables it to fulfil the aims and ideals it has always had within its purview,—the ultimate liberation of man from the bondage of Samsara, or to use the pregnant language of Swami Vivekananda, the furnishing of facilities to "all souls wending their way to God."

We do not see why this ancient social system with its Varna divisions should not continue to hold its ground in India. In the West, men are becoming alive to the necessity of organising some system of "class divisions." We have referred, earlier in this section, to some of the various proposals now being put forth—those of Dr. Steiner, Mr. Powers, the

Socialist writers (Mr. and Mrs. Webb, for instance, in their recent work, "A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain), and so on. Whether any system of social divisions will (or can) be newly brought into existence has yet to be proved. We have every reason to question its feasibility. Professor Perry, of the Manchester University, very properly says :—"The science of social psychology has yet to be born"—and, further, "we have not yet succeeded in explaining the most elementary facts connected with our present-day society." There is, thus, not much hope of our being able to profit by any Western example or teaching of whose validity we can be assured. The divisions we have, therefore, will and must continue as long as they fulfil their original purpose, end, and aim, and even though we cannot trace their origin to such trustworthy and authentic knowledge of their ancient moorings in the thoughts and feelings of our primeval Hindu ancestors as will satisfy the modern mind. We can only know the thoughts and feelings to be found in the Vedas and the Vedic literature and they clearly show that, as already stated, our Varna-Dharmas aim at the attainment of the eternal bliss of the Pratyag Atman (Inner Self) which is beyond the Material Universe and the worlds included in it,—the one Existence only without a second.

Army Expenditure.

When one contemplates the huge deficit of nine crores of rupees which has been shown by this year's budget, one naturally turns to the military expenditure, for an explanation of this phenomenon. Even were there no deficit, the amount allotted to the military is out of all proportion to the total revenue of the country, For, as the Joint Committee has lately pointed out, it is impossible for any country with a revenue of 132 crores to spend 62 crores on the military alone. But the existence of the deficit infinitely increases the seriousness of the situation and calls for an immediate examination of, and very drastic reductions in the military, expenditure. A glance at the figures will be appalling to all who care for the financial future of the country. The "Home Accounts" of the Government of India reveal how the expenditure on British forces serving in India has substantially gone up during the last two years. The total expenditure on account of military services, effective and non-effective, during 1919—20 was £ 7,553,627. During 1920—21 it was £ 8,590,322 or an increase of over 14 per cent. During 1921—22, it is estimated to be £ 8,837,934. The expenditure on the British forces employed in India, instead of appreciably going down after the war, has been actually going up since it ceased. Such are the blessings of peace for us in this hapless land. The war to end all wars, as it was magniloquently styled, has resulted in the imposition of heavier military burdens on us. The total of pay and pensions of non-effective and retired officers of the Indian service went up from £ 1,219,067 in 1919—20 to £,1,852,356 in 1921—22, and a new subhead of expenditure appears in the estimates for 1921—22 namely "marriage allowances and allotments" amounting to £ 981,926 or about a crore and a half of rupees, which did not appear in the earlier figures. The cost of Indian contingents at the peace celebrations came to £99,894 during 1920—21 and 1921—22. Another new item appears in the accounts, "unemployment insurance", and it is responsible for £ 115,400 in 1921—22 and £ 30,500 in 1920—21. The Army in India Committee cost about £ 12,000. Altogether peace is costing much more to us than war itself ; and unless vigorous steps are taken to prevent the strong arm of the Army from grabbing all our money we shall soon be in financial bankruptcy. But the usual way with people in this country who want to suggest for effecting savings in military expenditure is to attack the Frontier Policy. But a careful consideration of the whole problem of the Frontier has led us to the conclusion that we should not meddle with the policy pursued by the Government for the present, there— the Government have been doing their mite to reduce expenditure in that quarter. One prominent instance of this policy has been the investigation recently made by Air Marshall Sir John Salmond with a view to introduce Air Force in place of the present units, so as to reduce expenditure. But the plan does not appear to be capable of success, for aeroplanes cannot be of much service at night time and it is at night time that there is great danger to life and property in those regions owing to the raids of the tribes. Other measures have also been proposed but to no purpose. We see that the creation of a buffer state, the cession to Afghanistan and a return to the Indus have been suggested. We cannot discuss them for lack of space and can only say that there are insuperable objections to each of those courses. For the present at least, if the helpless villagers on our frontier are not to be left to perish, we cannot press for an alteration of the present policy. Under such circumstances we pause to consider where retrenchment can be made in regard to the other aspects of the military in India. And at once we are disposed to agree with the finding of the Standing Committee that the administrative side of the army in India is capable of much alteration and reduction without prejudice to efficiency. We are not going to quarrel with the statement made by Lord Rawlinson that the further reduction of the regular fighting units in this country is out of the question. The Joint Committee also endorses this view. Nor are we for the present going to enter into a controversy with Lord Rawlinson as regards the various instances in which Government had to relinquish or postpone very necessary measures on account of financial stringency. The "Pioneer" summarises these instances and argues that in view of these, we cannot accuse the Government of extravagance. It further states that the fact that in many of these cases, the soldier has been considerably denied even his personal comforts and that nevertheless he is keeping quiet, shows that there is no such entravagance as is being attacked. We have no patience with this way of arguing. We are not yet aware that the army in our country is democratically organized or that the opinion of the rank and file is allowed to control the military administration. Our impression is that red-tapism and bureaucratic methods prevail as much in the army as outside in effect much more in the army. Moreover, that so many necessary things have not been done is no argument to justify the flagrant cases of extravagance which have been pointed out by the press as well as the public in this country. When one considers that despite the reduction of 20000 men the cost of the army has risen by nearly 11 crores of rupees, one is surely justified in feeling that something is somewhere wrong. There is no denying the fact that the military administration in India has become too top-heavy. We accept that an efficient General Staff is essential to the well-being of the Army ; but we point out that units are apt to be over-inspected and that the tendency in India is indubitably in that direction now. When, owing to the reduction in the Army by 20000, and the decentralization effected by the formation of Army Commands, we might expect to find a reduction in the General Staff, what do we have there but an aggregate increase of 143 officers. In the last budget discussion it was pointed out that the estimates contained an increase of over 83 per cent in the number of British Officers and 600 per cent in the number of civilians employed in spite of the reduction of the fighting units. Our opinion is that both in the Army Head Quarters including the Military Secretary's branch

and the General Staff, aa well as in the Staffs of the District and Brigade Commanda, drastic reductions can be made quite safely. Examples can be multiplied of reckless waste and extravagance. As the "Bengalee" points out, the Medical Service is a case in point. According to that journal including sub-assistant surgeons, there is one doctor for every 312 officers, men and followers, and it says that on an average every 31 patients would seem to possess a separate doctor. This seems rather a luxurious dispensation of things, Our attention is also drawn to the huge pay of Rs. 64,200 per annum paid to the Inspector of Physical Training. All this proves the hollowness of the contention of those who would, like Sir Godfrey Fell maintain that to make further reduction in the military expenditure of India is impossible. Making due allowance for the rise in prices since pre-war days, we are disposed to agree with Sri Montagu Webb that the cost of our army ought not to exceed 45 or 50 crores at the most and that at least 12 crores may be saved by the exercise of more care. There is absolutely no fear of impairing the efficiency of the army. We are fully cognisant of the fact that efficiency in matters of defence is much too important to be compromised for the sake of economy. But our contention is that the abolition of the numerous extravagances that are now going on will only promote the efficiency of the army and not mar it. Again the whole system of recruiting may be overhauled with profit to the exchequer.

The Palestine Mandate.

The *Bombay Chronicle* in one of its latest issues advances the quite laughable proposition that no Indian paper has shown over-much interest in or knowledge of the problemes in Asia Minor. Though we lay no claim to such special knowledge as obviously belongs to our Pan-Islamist contemporary, we may be permitted to recall to the mind of our readers that the whole question of British policy in the Middle East has often been dealt with in these columns by a well-informed writer who has had access to authoritative sources of information. On the the question of Palestine, this journal was the first among Indian periodicals to point out the conditions of the problem and where British Zionistic fervour was dragging that land. That the Council of the League of Nations has ratified the Palestine mandate will not surprise any one who has followed the career of the League and its Council and their composition. The Council is not, and never has been, impartial, but has acted consistently as the revised version of the Supreme Council. The injustice of the Zionistic policy of Great Britain in pursuance of the Balfour Declaration, a bigamous undertaking as it has been forcefully if quaintly styled, has been adverted to by us as early as October last year. Lord Islington in the Lords described the mandate as a distortion of the mandatory system, because under it a small proportion was to be given preferential treatment, with British authority to enforce that system. He added that to import an alien race into a native and local race was an unnatural, partial and altruistic experiment. The parlous state to which the country has already been reduced forms the subject of severe comment in the *Falastin*, the Jaffa Arab moderate paper. Under the pretence of administrative economy any district Governor or any official or anybody else who attempts to combat the Zionist disease and preserve the fair fame of the British mandate or refuses to work in accordance with the spirit of those Jewish refugees who are crushing out the Arabs, is forthwith dismissed from his post. The paper then dilates on the material damage accruing to the country, and the ill-return which the Jews have made to Great Britain in exchange for Great Britain's kindness to them; how they have destroyed her commerce and her good name, how they have withstood the spread of the English language for the sake of their own affairs and the spread of their two languages, Hebrew and Yiddish. Apart from this there is the question of the guardianship of the Holy places, which bristles with difficulties of its own and wherein the Italian government and the Vatican have entered a caveat against any attempt to restore the "Kingdom of Israel." The Council, represenutative as it has been called, which is to administer the affairs of Palestine is but a comouflage. The truth of the matter in regard to the Council is that the seven Arab members, not elected but nominated by Sir Herbert Samuel to assist in the governing of the country are always liable to be outvoted by the ten members also nominated by Sir Herbert Samuel and the three members nominated by the Zionist organisation, which in fact is the imponderable power in the land which directs its destinies unseen. No wonder Arab resentment is getting louder and louder and is hardening into a consolidation of all the Arab forces in Asia Minor and Arabia. The difficulties in Iraq and South Kurdistan have often been dealt with in these columns. The future therefore is full of possibilities of catastrophe; and the prime responsibility will rest on British tinckling to Jewish financiers.

In these days when straining the law and even putting a fraud upon it, has lost its novelty and horror and when, as a consequence, the judiciary have in most provinces become demoralised, it is refreshing to turn to two judgments of two of the highest courts in the land. The first is of the Patna High Court, in a case in which certain persons were convicted under sec 145 I. P. C. on a charge of holding a procession without license. On appeal from this conviction, the Judicial Commissioner found the conviction under I. P. C. untenable, but convicted them under the Police Act and fined them a rupee. The prestige of the Government having thus seriously been weakened, the local Government bethought themselves of the High Court and with plenty of the taxpayer's money to spend, preferred an appeal, which was, wonder of wonders, also dismissed. In a very luminous judgment, Mr. Justice P. R. Das said that while the Court would never sanction a breach of the peace, it was necessary for the Court to assert from time to time, and as often as possible, that the subject had his rights as well as his duties, and that the Court should sternly repress any attempt on the part of the Executive Government to tamper with such rights and liberties. Dealing with the present case the judge thought that the police had no powers either to prohibit the procession or to order it to disperse, except when there had been a violation of a condition of the licence, and that power to prohibit was not incident to a power to regulate and license. According to him the order passed by the Superintendent of Police was illegal and the police had no right to order the procession to disperse. He also thought that the offence created by the Police Act was a new offence unknown to the general law, and as the Police Act provided a penalty for disobedience of any valid order under it a person disobeying such an order could only be proceeded against unde the Police Act and could be convicted under the general law.

In the other case, which was an appeal under the Press Act, a special bench of the Lahore High Court held that on any definition the Government established by law could not mean a few policemen at a particular place, whose misdeeds, if proved, the Government would certainly repudiate; nor could it be held that any aspersion against a few policemen tended to bring the Government into hatred. The judgment did not agree with the Government Advocate's argument that an attack on a few policemen was indirectly intended to create disaffection.

Literary and Educational.

Devotion.

By V. Ramachandra Rao B.A.

Ram Das ! Thou Sage !
  Thou Master-Soul !
From thee every age
  Learns Truth in whole !

Thou Saint, thou Teacher,
  Thou Friend and Guide,
Thou the Preacher
  Known far and wide—

A guide is thy life
  Of golden glory ;
A preacher is thy life,
  A moral story.

From thy glorious hymns,
  From thy profuse heart,
A cup that brims
  O'er with thy art,

I caught a word,
  A rhyme, a tune,
In rapture heard,
  In beauty strewn,—

That gave my mind,
  And gave my heart
A secret, kind
  Influence: art

Alone would fail ;
  But for the keystone,
Would Life avail
  And stand alone ?

Fragrance of thy wreath,
  Woven so fair,
And that doth breathe
  So sweet an air,

Reaching my heart
  Set it agoing,
From my molten heart,
  These thoughts were flowing.

* * *

To weary hearts,
  There come a song:
As ease departs
  They drag along.

O what is life ?
  Not joy, not gain,
'Tis all a strife,
  A mighty pain.

'My life' we say,
  What right have we ?
One lives today,
  Tomorrow dies he.

God gave us breath,
  The gift is His,
Why mourn, then, death,
  Rejoice in bliss ?

The laughing bloom
  Soon fades away ;
Night, in her gloom,
  follows the day.

Why mourn another,
  When we must die ?
One after the other,
  We are speeding high.

'Let none mourn me,
  I mourn no one',
May well laugh ye
  At this cold ton e.

Nay, what avail,
  When things succeed
In life's travail—
  Deed after deed.

Past life was vain,
  'Twas lived and lost,
We suffer and gain
  In tempest tossed.

And every ill
  It chastens us—
The chastening Will
  Thinks well of us;

And thence endure
  All writ of Fate ;
The false, impure,
  Ungodly hate,

May fast perish,
  And life to come,
May best nourish
  In life's still hum,

A love supreme,
  Devotion pure,
And make the dream
  All hopeful, sure !

That dream the Soul
  Had dreamt at first,
When all the whole
  Creation burst !

We long have erred
  In making good
What time has offered
  As silent food,

For soul's progress,
  Its goal to reach,
And then, the less
  Risen to teach.

If is in mind
  This teaching sweet—
The life behind,
  By death complete,

The life of ills
  By God ordained,
The strife that stills ;
  That man disdained;

All these work out
  Soul's destiny,
And full blest out
  False ignominy.

If, in life weary,
  Thoughts of the High
God lead hearts dreary
  To composure nigh,

What charm must be
  In life that dies
And renders free
  Our mortal ties ?

Is death then all ?
  The lowly, the meek,
The cottage, the hall,
  The unseeking, seek

Death's unerring hand:
  There is no hour,
But one in the land
  Desires the power

To flee this world,
  To wish himself dead,
Abandon his fold
  And join the dead.

But death's not all—
  It but prepares,

A roll of the ball
  In life's thoroughfares.

Salvation is
  Devotion's prize,
Devotion is
  A pure life's prize;

A pure life is
  Of stillness* the prize,
And stillness is
  Under our eyes,

Beyond our lives† ;
  If free we be
In life that gives
  Much anxiety ;

If we prepare
  Life's march and way,
And somehow fare
  Along that way,

Then death is life,
  And life is death,
Then joy or strife
  A moment's breath.

The quiet life
  Is itself pure ;
The purest life
  Devotion is sure

To crown with bliss,
  With lasting bliss—
Salvation is
  The holy bliss.

Devotion is then
  Our foremost goal ;
Striven this when,
  Easily the Soul

Advancing, doth rise
  From high to higher,
From stormy skies
  To a calmer sphere.

We bathe and clean
  Our mortal frame:
Our hearts, I ween,
  Are they free of blame ?

The dirt and the dust
  'Tis good to wash:
'Tis as good as just
  Soul's taint to wash.

Then wash soul's taint,
  And render it pure ;
Free it of paint
  That breathes impure.

Wash it, there grow
  Devotion's plant,
Feed with the flow
  Of hymnic chant.

'Ram, Ram', what charm
  What music there?
A glorious balm
  Beyond compare,

To heal the heart,
  Elate the Soul,
The saddest part
  Of life make whole.

A name of His,
  A thought of Him
Is worth all bliss
  That Soul can dream.

---

* Freedom from any kiud of want.

† Such freedom comes not only by death, but also by Self-control.

சுதந்திரன்.

பிரதி பானுவாரந்தோறும்

வெளிவரும் ஓர் தமிழ் பத்திரிகை.

சென்ற 7 வருஷ காலமாய் நம் நாட்டு முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு அடிப்படையான வியசாயம், கைத்தொழில், வியாபாரம் முதலிய செல்வ விருத்திக்கான விஷயங்களும், மனிதர்களுக்கும், கால்நடைகளுக்கும் அவசியமான சுகாதாரம், நோய் பரிசாரம், மதுவிலக்கு முதலிய வியாசங்களுடன் வெளிவந்துகொண்டிருந்த "வர்த்தகமித்திரன்" தத்கால போக்கையனுசரித்து "சுதந்திரன்" என்னும் பெயருடன், இராஜீய விஷயங்கள், மகாத்மா அவர்களின் உபதேசம், இந்தியர் முன்னேற்ற மார்க்க விவரங்கள் முதலிய விஷயங்களுடன் வெளிவருகின்றது. சுயராஜ்யமடைய விரும்புவோர் ஒவ்வொருவரும் இப்பத்திரிகையை வரவழைத்துப் படித்து சகோதர, சகோதரி யாவரும் சுயராஜ்யமடைந்து சுகஜீவிகளாகவேண்டும்.

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This book is written to indicate how the United States overcame the difficulties standing in the way of prohibition, and the results which are already visible, in the hope that it may prove useful to us in effectively dealing with our own problem. The present is the right moment for us to undertake such a task, because Indians, irrespective of their political differences, are determined to seize every opportunity to regain for India the primacy of position which she once occupied in the comity of nations.

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